

ST. PETER AND THE RESURRECTION.

BY WILLIAM WEBER.

THE Gospels, Acts, Petrine, and Pauline Epistles are the sources from which our knowledge of the resurrection of Jesus is to be derived. They represent the resurrection as a historical fact. As such it has nothing to do with religious belief, or faith. The first disciples, indeed, believed in Jesus before his death and did not change their faith afterwards. Therefore, we have to treat what the New Testament has to say about the resurrection just as the reports of any other historical event. I have attempted to do that with the Gospel accounts (*Open Court*, Dec. 1919, May & June 1920). In the present paper, the Epistles of St. Peter and the first half of Acts claim our attention.

FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

The First Epistle of St. Peter refers to the resurrection three times, (i. 3, 21; iii, 21). The first passage reads: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." In the second, the writer states: Ye are through Jesus "believers in God, that raised him from the dead and gave him glory." He speaks in the third place "of a good conscience toward God through the resurrection of Jesus Christ." In the face of such statements, made apparently by the first disciple and apostle of Jesus, there seems to be no choice but to accept the resurrection as an actual fact no matter what we have to think of the Gospel accounts. But the letter cannot be dismissed before we have learned a little more about its author and the people to whom it is addressed.

As addressees are named "sojourners of the Diaspora (Dispersion) of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." The noun Diaspora denotes since the Babylonian captivity Jews that had

been forcibly removed from their native land and settled in foreign countries. The early Christians adopted the term for themselves; and it is used up to the present time. "We are but pilgrims here, heaven is our home." As to the Christian character of the sojourners of First Peter, verse 2 admits of no doubt.

The question rises at once: Are those Christians of Jewish or Gentile descent? The body of the epistle (i. 13-v. 11) consists of ethical rules, exhortations and warnings for Gentile Christians. In that respect, it is closely related to and possibly dependent upon similar chapters in such Pauline epistles as Ephesians, Colossians, Rom. xiii, First Timothy ii and Titus.

One might say, of course, Christian ethics are the same whether practiced by Jews or Gentiles. That is true of a scientific and exhaustive presentation of the moral precepts of Jesus. But what we find in the Epistles serves practical ends and warns the original readers against sins to which they were especially exposed.

Just as different individuals succumb to different temptations, so with whole nations. In the age of Christ and his apostles, the Jews were no longer tempted by idolatry and the excesses engendered thereby. If therefore one of the early Christian writers warns against idolatry and its concomitant evils, his letter was addressed to Gentile Christians. iv. 3 reads: "The time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked in lasciviousness, lusts, winebibblings, revellings, carousings, and abominable idolatries." The people who, in the past, had wrought the desire of the Gentiles are evidently the first readers of the Epistle. i. 14 they are called: "children of obedience, not fashioning yourselves to your former lusts in ignorance." The former lusts are, of course, those which iv. 3 are mentioned in connection with idolatry. i. 18, they are reminded: "Ye were redeemed from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers." The early Christians of Jewish descent, including Jesus himself, never regarded the religion of their fathers as one of ignorance, nor their efforts of obeying the law of God as a vain manner of life. Even the Gentile Christians have adopted the Old Testament as part of their Holy Scriptures and retained them as such till now.

The persecution, spoken of iv. 12-19, points in the same direction. The great bulk of Jewish Christians remained members of the Jewish Synagogue and continued to worship at the temple in Jerusalem as long as it existed even after their acceptance of Jesus as their Messiah. In doing that, they followed the example

and precept of Jesus himself. For that reason, they had little, if any, intercourse with Gentile Christians; and accordingly, the bloody persecutions under which the latter had to suffer did not affect the former. Judaism, like all the national religions of subject nations, was a *religio licita* in the Roman Empire and as such protected by the government.

The term "elders" (v. 1) confirms this conclusion as to the nationality of the sojourners of our Epistle. Elders, or presbyters, were the leading officers of the Gentile Christian congregations. Such officers did not exist among the Jewish Christians for the simple reason because they never dreamed of establishing a Christian Church or Christian congregations.

Turning to the author of First Peter, it has to be admitted that the designation "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ" (i. 1) does not necessarily refer to Simon Peter, the personal disciple and first apostle of Jesus. The name of "Peter" must have become very popular among the Christians at an early date; and there may have been quite a number of apostles during the first centuries who became apostles because their pious parents had named them *Peter*.

v. 1, the writer calls himself: "a witness of the sufferings of Christ." That expression may denote either that the author was present when Jesus was crucified and, therefore, is the Peter of the Gospels; or that he claims to be a witness of the sufferings of Christ because like St. Paul he preached Christ crucified. (1 Cor. i. 23.) There is a third possibility to which, however, very little weight can be ascribed, the writer may pretend to be Simon Peter. A man who is able to compose such a fine letter as First Peter, does not as a rule hide his identity behind a forged name. Besides as a pupil of St. Paul, he would in all probability have preferred to use the name of his master. For in First Peter, as has been recognized long ago, a prominent place is given to Pauline thought as well as to Pauline language.

According to the term "fellow-elder" (v. 1), the author of First Peter was when he wrote his epistle a presbyter and that very likely of the church at Babylon (v. 13). That again excludes his identity with Simon Peter. The apostle of the circumcision cannot have quit his work among the Jews in order to join a Gentile congregation and accept there the office of elder. It was different with the apostles of the second century. At that time the rule had been accepted: "Every apostle that comes to you shall be received as the Lord; but he shall not stay longer than one day; but if

there be need, also the second day. But if he stays three days, he is a false prophet." (Didache xi.) Only younger men could lead such a hard life. If they grew older, they would either return to their native city or settle down as teacher in some other place where they had made friends in the course of their wanderings. So, as we may take for granted, Peter of Babylon had traveled as an apostle over Asia Minor for a number of years and was well known among the Gentile Christians of that peninsula. He kept in touch with them after he had returned to Babylon and became a presbyter of his mother-church. That qualified him to write the so-called First Epistle of St. Peter when he learned from his correspondents how much they were in need of his advice.

The author of First Peter believed in the resurrection of Jesus. But as he belongs to the second century and possibly to the latter half of that century, his testimony does not show what the first disciples and apostles knew about that event.

SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

The Second Epistle of Peter is considered quite generally as spurious by the representatives of the critical school. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, III 816, says after a detailed discussion of the problem presented by that writing: "The only conclusion, it is believed, which is in accordance with the evidence, external and internal, is that 2 P. is not the work of the apostle, but is a document which must be assigned to the second century." Still there are also critics and that scholars of the first rank who in spite of, or rather on account of its strange individuality, insist upon Second Peter being genuine. The article just quoted mentions especially Spitta and Zahn. (p. 798.) According to them, the epistle was written by St. Peter late in his life, that is to say, between A. D. 60-63.

The writing stands quite alone in the New Testament. Both style and ideas from those of St. Paul, whose copious correspondence has furnished the standard by which all the other letters are judged. That is in my opinion the only reason why Eusebius placed Second Peter on the list of doubtful books, and why so many students of the twentieth century continue to look upon it with disfavor. It has been received into the official New Testament in spite of an old prejudice. That presupposes a very strong oral tradition, insisting upon the apostolic origin of the epistle. And especially today, its strange character ought to be regarded rather as a recommendation. For an original disciple of Jesus must have discussed

religious questions in a way which differed from that of St. Paul because the method of teaching, employed by Jesus, is so far removed from that of the apostle of the Gentiles that many scholars imagine the Gentile Christian religion to be a new creation of the man of Tarsus. Peter and Paul were confronted by different religious problems. To preach the message of Jesus to Jews was one thing, to persuade Gentiles to accept Christianity was quite another thing. Besides a man of the people was bound to think and speak otherwise than a disciple of the scribes.

Now 2 P. i. 16-18 we come upon the statement: "We did not follow cunningly-devised fables when we made known unto you the coming and power of our Lord Jesus Christ; but we were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honor and glory when there was borne such a voice to him by the Majestic Glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And this voice we ourselves heard borne out of heaven when we were with him in the holy mount." The author speaks here of the transfiguration, which is recorded in the oldest common Synoptic source, the "ground work" of the first three Gospels, as proving the Messianic mission of Jesus. The "we" of 2 P. i. 16 is, of course, Peter, John, and James. The resurrection is not mentioned in this connection although it would have been a much stronger argument for what St. Peter wanted to prove. For the manifestations of the risen Jesus revealed him not only as living in spite of his death on the cross, but also as dwelling in heaven and sitting on the right hand of God.

The just quoted passage has, to my knowledge, never been used to establish the authenticity of the disputed epistle. But if we should assign it to the second century, we must explain how a writer of that age could speak of the transfiguration instead of the resurrection of Jesus in order to prove his Messiahship. For it is just the century which laid the greatest stress upon the resurrection and produced the accounts of that event in the Gospels. It is moreover the century during which the message of the resurrection was opposed most strenuously by the Jews. No Christian writer of that age would have failed to point to the Easter event whenever he wanted to demonstrate that Jesus was the Christ. Nobody would have thought of substituting for it the transfiguration. For the significance of that experience for the faith of the first disciples was no longer realized. To have denied the resurrection would have branded the author of Second Peter as a heretic. He does not

deny it; but he does not seem to have ever heard of it. He neglects to call attention to it even in a context where any second century Christian would have done so.

As belief in the resurrection of Jesus never abated among the Christians of the succeeding centuries, Second Peter must have been written before the tradition of the resurrection of Jesus had been formed. That means the epistle must belong to the apostolic age and bear the name of its true author.

THE ACTS.

THE CHOICE OF MATTHIAS.

So far we have found in First and Second Peter two different apostles, Peter of Babylon and Simeon Peter. The latter refers to the transfiguration and addresses Jewish Christians; the former speaks of the resurrection and writes to Gentile Christians, who are suffering persecution. The one is in all probability the personal disciple of Jesus; the other a student of the epistles of St. Paul. There is a third St. Peter, namely that of the Acts, to whom the resurrection is the very keystone of the Christian religion, and who may be a reflection of the image of the first apostle as the second century saw it.

Such facts and possibilities compel us to study the speeches, ascribed to St. Peter in the Acts. They are not exact copies of speeches actually delivered by the apostle. The early Christians did not employ stenographers in order to preserve the words of their preachers for posterity. Not even the sayings of Jesus have been saved from oblivion except a few fragments whose surpassing excellence shows what a treasure we have lost. Of course, the orations in Acts may have been jotted down from memory by persons who had heard them. But they also may have been composed at a later date by men who knew only that an apostle had spoken at a certain occasion. Such writers would put into the mouth of their speakers of necessity their own ideas and words. If they happened to live in the second century or later, they would represent the apostles as arguing like a second century preacher. They were not troubled by any doubt as to whether they were not perverting history. Their Christian belief was, in their self-estimation, true and identical with that of Jesus Christ and his apostles. A third possibility must not be forgotten. Some, if not all of the speeches in Acts may have been written originally by people who had heard them; but they may have been revised and enlarged afterwards, either before or at the time when they were incorporated into our

book. General reflections of such a kind, however, do not establish facts. Only a painstaking examination of the present text of those addresses in Acts can enable us to determine their true character.

The first is found Act. i. 16-22. St. Peter advises there the disciples to elect a successor of Judas the traitor so that the original number of the apostles should be restored. Verse 18-19 is an interpolation and marked as in the American Revised Version such by parentheses. Apart from that passage, there is hardly any textual difficulty. Verse 21-22 is however a much involved sentence. A literal translation, preserving the order of words of the Greek text, would read: "There must now of the men who companied with us all the time while there went in and out with us the Lord Jesus, beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was taken up from us, become a witness of his resurrection with us one of these." Allowance has to be made for the order of words in a sentence peculiar to a given language. But even in Greek, the arrangement cannot be called normal. Besides, verse 21-22 cannot be accepted as having been translated from an original Semitic text as would be the case if the speech were really St. Peter's.

The main statement of the apostle presents serious difficulties. The candidate for the apostolic office is required to have been a constant companion of Jesus and the Twelve from beginning to end; and of those who possessed that qualification two men, Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias, were nominated. That presupposes a comparatively large number of disciples who had answered the call of Jesus and followed him on his missionary wanderings. It also suggests several degrees of discipleship, in fact, a well defined hierarchy. There were first of all the esoteric circle of the Twelve and the exoteric body of permanent companions, perhaps the Seventy or Seventy-two of Lk. x. 1, 17. Within the coterie of the Twelve, Peter, John, and James formed a triumvirate. In addition, there were disciples in all places where Jesus had preached his gospel, who for some reason or other had to stay at home. Such an organization is hardly compatible with the well known principles of Jesus. Whether there were so many believers who could sever all their home ties, is more than doubtful. Under no circumstances, could Jesus march from one village or town to another at the head of a body of more than eighty men. In the first place, their wants could not be provided for; in the second place, neither Herod nor Pontius Pilate would have permitted such a large number of idle men to roam over the country and stir up their subjects.

The Twelve, the twelve disciples, or the twelve apostles appear in Matthew nine, in Mark ten, and in Luke seven times. Besides, there are also the catalogues of the Twelve in the three Synoptic Gospels and in Acts. But that document does not invite serious consideration. It was interpolated into all four writings at a late date and interrupts the context in each case. Mt. x. 2-4, it stands before the instructions which Jesus gave his disciples when he sent them forth on their first missionary journey. Mk. iii. 16-19, the names are given after the statement: "And he appointed twelve that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to cast out demons." Even the American Revised Version: "And Simon he surnamed Peter, and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James," etc., reveals clearly the lack of grammatical and logical connection between verse 14-15 and 16 ff. Lk. vi. 14-16, the list introduces the Luke version of the Sermon on the Mount. Appearing in different places in all three Gospels, not to speak of other disagreements, the catalogue of the apostles cannot belong to the oldest Synoptic source.

In only three instances, the Twelve are mentioned in all three Gospels in parallel accounts. These are the so-called Mission of the Twelve (Mt. x. 1, Mk. vi. 7, Lk. ix. 2), the Prediction of his Death and Resurrection (Mt. xx. 17, Mk. x. 32, Lk. xviii. 31), and the Judas Iscariot episode (Mt. xxvi. 14, 47; Mk. xi. 10, 43; Lk. xxii. 3, 47). But even a cursory comparison of the first of these passages in Wright's Synopsis of the Gospels with the biblical text, renders it quite evident to what an extent those pericopes have been revised and enlarged by compilers and editors; and the Twelve, the twelve apostles, or disciples owe their presence in the text probably to the pen of such a man. That fact cannot be disputed in the case of Mt. x. 5 and xi. 1, for which the other Gospels offer no equivalent.

The Prediction of the Passion is the third warning Jesus is said to have given his disciples. The first is found Mt. xvi. 21-23; Mk. viii. 31-33; Lk. ix. 22; the second, Mt. xvii. 22-23, Mk. ix. 30-31, Lk. ix. 43-45. Jesus, without doubt, discussed with his disciples more than once what he was going to do and what he was bound to suffer at Jerusalem. But he has certainly not confined himself to repeating three times in succession the same statement with the final result, as Luke tells us: "And they understood none of those things that were said." According to Matthew and Mark, the disciples apprehended the exact meaning of the words of their

master the very first time as is proved by Peter's attempt to dissuade Jesus from taking the course he had outlined. For that reason, the three predictions of the passion can be only three parallel versions of the same announcement. Since the twelve apostles are mentioned only in the last set of these versions, they do not belong to the original account.

There remains only the Judas Iscariot pericope as vouching for the Twelve in the oldest portions of the Synoptic Gospels. A discussion of the problem presented by the traitor would exceed by far the limits of this paper. I therefore can only register my doubts as to whether there was such an individual among the followers of Jesus. It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand why the chief priests and the elders of the people should have cared to employ such a man. They only had to shadow Jesus by one of their own servants to make sure of the place where Jesus and his companions were encamped and where accordingly they would eat the passover. After thus locating his temporary home, they could arrest him there any time during the night of the passover. For Jesus would be there; and none of the other pilgrims would be met with abroad. The Mosaic law is quite explicit as to where the Jews have to stay during that night. It says: "None of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning." (Ex. xii. 22.) Why should therefore the enemies of Jesus run the risk of revealing their plans to a pretended traitor who might inform his master of their evil intentions and give him a chance of selecting at the last moment a new camp where they could not find him during the night?

It is a pity, the Judas problem cannot be solved right here. If he should prove to be an altogether legendary personality, St. Peter could never have proposed to elect his successor, and that would eliminate, as a matter of course, the speech of Act. i. 16 ff., including the characteristic term "witness of the resurrection," from further consideration.

The fourth Gospel speaks of the Twelve in only two short passages, Jn. vi. 66-71; xx. 24. The first treats especially of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot and stands or falls with the Synoptic account of the traitor. The second belongs to the story of incredulous Thomas, which is a product of the second century.

The Gospels indeed leave it more than doubtful whether Jesus selected twelve apostles. Apart from the uncertainty about Judas Iscariot, we may conclude Jesus never had twelve apostles. He

was accompanied by only three men, Simon Peter, John, and James, who had left behind all they possessed and cherished of worldly goods in order to be constantly near Jesus.

In Acts the term "apostle" is used only in the first sixteen chapters, twenty-eight times in all. The eleven faithful apostles are mentioned i. 26 and named i. 13. The expression "Peter with the Eleven" occurs ii. 14. The Twelve have deacons appointed vi. 2. The plural "apostles" appears several times without a definite number. Of the twelve names of i. 13, 36, only three turn up again in the remaining chapters of Acts, Peter, John, and his brother James. The first is named fifty-five times in all, the second nine times, and the third only twice. In his place, James, the brother of the Lord, enters upon the scene. (xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18.) There were in accordance with these facts at the beginning of the apostolic age not twelve apostles, but properly speaking only one, St. Peter. He alone is represented as preaching the gospel no matter how many other so-called apostles are with him. Even St. John is only his silent partner.

That fact is easily enough accounted for. The gift and ability of presenting and discussing a cause in public was not so common that Jesus could have picked up orators by the dozen by the roadside. He secured a few true and devoted friends, three in number, who believed in him and were constantly with him. But only one of them had those intellectual and temperamental qualities which enabled him to continue the work of the master. The later generations of Christians, in the first line those of the second century, were unable to appreciate that historical fact. To them Jesus was the heavenly king; and they could not imagine how he had ever struggled with indifference and lack of appreciation like ordinary mortal. Their admiring faith clothed him even during his career on earth with royal pomp and pageantry. They gave him a kingly retinue of twelve men, each representing one of the twelve tribes of Israel. But those members of Christ's court had no reality, they are mere shadows, projected by ardent love upon an unknown past; otherwise the Acts would tell us a little more about them than their mere names.

The same fact may be learned from the Epistle to the Galatians. Gal. i. 18-19, St. Paul speaks of his first visit to Jerusalem after he had become a Christian. He called on Cephas and tarried with him for two weeks. He says: "Other of the apostles I saw none, save James the Lord's brother." This James is the man

spoken of as a son of the parents of Jesus Mt. xiii. 55; Mk. vi. 3, but who is never referred to as a disciple, not to say an apostle, in the Gospels. He is mentioned three times in Acts and was evidently a prominent character among the Palestinian Christians.

Gal. ii. 1-10 the author speaks of certain men he met at Jerusalem at the occasion of his second visit. He calls them "those who were reputed to be somewhat," "they who were of repute," and "James and Cephas and John who were reputed to be pillars." The three men named were undoubtedly the leaders of the Jewish Christians. Of the twelve apostles no trace can be discovered. If Jesus had appointed that number, there would have been twelve pillars. Thus the plural in i. 19 can refer only to James, Cephas, and John, unless it includes perhaps assistants who stood in a similar relationship to the three as Barnabas and others to St. Paul. In any case, the term apostle is used rather loosely Gal. i. 19.

But what is much more important, St. Paul places himself into the same class with St. Peter, and with him alone, when he writes: "They saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision. For he that wrought for Peter into the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles." What might astonish us, if our review of the Gospels and Acts had not prepared us for such a surprise, is the fact that St. Paul and the leading Jewish Christians acknowledged only one apostle of the circumcision, not a whole dozen.

The twelve apostles, wherever they turn up in the New Testament, must therefore be assigned to the realm of legends. The first generation of Christians did not know them. They entered the New Testament much later when those writings were finally compiled and edited. Consequently, the historical St. Peter cannot have proposed the election of a successor of Judas Iscariot nor defined at that occasion the office of an apostle as that of being a witness of the resurrection.

THE DAY OF PENTECOST.

In order to understand the words, ascribed to St. Peter Act ii. 14-36, 38-39, we have to bear in mind what prompted the apostle to speak at that occasion. He considered it his duty to refute the adverse comments aroused by the Pentecost event. We are told of that event Act. ii. 1-13; but that passage combines statements derived from two different sources. On the one hand we read: There was "a sound from heaven as of the rushing of a mighty wind";

"there appeared . . . tongues parting asunder like as of fire"; finally, the disciples addressed people of different nationalities, who had come to learn what had happened, in their native tongues, proclaiming to them the mighty works of God. The text presents a number of difficulties which, however, do not concern us in our investigation. On the other hand we learn: On the day of Pentecost the disciples who were together in one of the halls of the temple, were suddenly filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance. The people who happened to witness the strange phenomenon were amazed; the more serious did not know what to think of it, whereas the scoffers said: "They are filled with new wine."

The two accounts contradict each other. For preaching the works of God to foreigners in their native tongues so that they understood what was meant, as we are told expressly in verse 11, cannot be derided as a sign of drunkenness. Besides, nobody could be in doubt as to what was meant; for they were just being told.

The riddle is not hard to solve. About the time when the temple was destroyed (A. D. 70), the Jews began to observe the feast of Pentecost as the anniversary of the giving of the law at Sinai. They related how in a miraculous way the decalogue had been proclaimed fifty days after the exodus from Egypt from Mount Sinai in all the languages of the world so that each nation on earth had heard the ten commandments in its own tongue. Some features of this Jewish Pentecost legend were combined by the compiler of Acts with the older Christian Pentecost account. That cannot have happened before the second century was well under way; and the Christians had learned to despise the old plain tradition about Jesus and his first disciples and were insisting on signs and wonders, no matter how silly they might be.

The older Christian account which evidently goes back to the apostolic age is clear enough. The adherents of Jesus received on the day of Pentecost the gift of the Holy Spirit, that is to say, the spirit of prophecy. It manifested itself by what the New Testament calls "speaking with tongues." The corresponding term of the Didache (XI) is "speaking in spirit." The adjective "other" was added Act. ii. 4 by the compiler who imagined the tongues to be the foreign languages of the foreign nations. The scholars are unanimous as to the identity of the phenomenon wherever it is spoken of in the New Testament. (Act. ii, 4, x. 46, xix. 6, 1 Cor. xii. 30, xiv.)

(To be continued.)

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The practice of eating a god in the form of first-fruits or of a divine animal originated in ancient times, and attained an extraordinary development in the Mystery Religions of the Greeks, in the cults of Attis, of Adonis, of Osiris, of Dionysus, of Demeter, and of other Saviour Gods. From these cults the idea was borrowed by Paul and, against opposition of the Jewish Christians, fastened on the church. The history of the dogma, after the first centuries of our era, has been the story of attempts to explain it. Transubstantiation and the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass were not, as commonly by Protestants and rationalists they are said to be, the inept inventions of a barbarous age, but were the first endeavors to reason about and philosophically to elucidate beliefs formerly accepted with naïve simplicity. The hardest battles over the dogma came in the Reformation period, which accordingly bulks large in the present work. While Luther, Calvin, and other prominent Reformers believed in a real presence, but tried to give its mode new explanations, other more advanced spirits, Honius, Carlstadt, Swingli, Tyndale, and their fellows, adopted the view, now prevalent in Protestant communions, that the eucharistic bread and wine were mere symbols. After the heat of the sixteenth-century controversies, Zwinglian or rationalist views were quietly adopted by most Christians, though here and there high sacramentalism survived or was revived.

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